

POLITICAL SIN AND POLITICAL RIGHTEOUSNESS.

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I was credibly informed that Rev. (?) Mr W—— said he had no conscience in politics. Deacon S—— said, “do not bring religion into politics.” “Why not, deacon, you bring religion into your common deal, do you not?” said a liberty man. “No, indeed I don’t!” said the deacon. Dr Taylor argued that it would be right to vote for the least of two devils in supposable cases. Others have gone to the other extreme, and said it is wrong for christians to vote at all, and especially under the constitution,—‘let Cæsar take care of Cæsar’s kingdom,’ or ‘let us use moral suasion instead of law, to put down moral evils.’

Amidst such conflicting opinions, it is *our* duty—the duty of *all*—to inquire, “Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?” Let us then, as much as possible, in a candid, teachable spirit, sit at the feet of our heavenly teacher, and learn of him, who teaches as never man taught. Let us search the scriptures, and hear what God the Lord shall speak. It would be strange, if, after six days labor of a God, in making all things for our sake, he should be entirely *indifferent* to our actions, or be *incapable* of teaching us his will concerning them; and especially such acts as belong to government, which affect the rights and interests of God and man, for time and eternity, probably, more than every other act that we perform during the whole year. Can we suppose that he has left us in the dark on this momentous subject, while on every other subject he shows us, by his inspired word, whatever we need to know, or do, or avoid doing. Impossible! He says, whatsoever ye do, do *all* to the glory of God. This of course includes all our *civil* duties among others. Upon these two commandments (love to God and man) hang all the law and the prophets. This teaches our duty to God and man, in all the relations of life :—as pa-

rents, children, husbands, wives, brothers, sisters, neighbors and citizens. But no precept is given to slaveholders, (except to repent) for there is no such relation instituted by God. He has given us power to take care of ourselves upon an average; but some have more wisdom, strength, property and other talents than others. Abraham was blessed, that others might be blessed through him. It was said, "in thee, and in thy seed, shall all the families of the earth be *blessed*." So in the church, one is a head and others the hands or feet. There are governments and helps, and God hath tempered the body of the church together, so that none of the members can say to another, I have no need of thee. One member has wisdom to instruct the ignorant; another is strong, and can do his own work and help his weak brother; and another is rich, and can help the poor, &c. So God wills it should be in civil affairs, giving abundant honor to the part that lacketh. Among other things, the blessing of *liberty* is extended to us, that we may extend it to others. But in order to do it, the righteous must be in authority, that the people may rejoice. And we must vote them *in*, for this purpose. But let us see if God wills or ordains civil government. Stephen, in Acts 7: 35, says, that this Moses, whom they refused, saying, who made thee a *ruler* and a judge? the same did God send to be a *ruler* and a deliverer. God saw that it was necessary that they should have a *ruler* to deliver them. So God ordained this government, and appointed a ruler. And even before this, Joseph says, Gen. 45: 8, God * * * hath made me * * * a *ruler* throughout all the land of Egypt. So here is another government of God's ordaining; and a righteous man was in authority, and the people rejoiced. Yea, still earlier, Melchizedek was a *King* and a *priest* of the most high God.—Gen. 14: 18. He was a King of peace, and yet he blessed Abraham, (returning from the slaughter of the Kings,) who also was one of God's chosen rulers. Moses' father-in-law said, Ex. 18: 21, Thou shalt provide out of all the people *able* men, such as *fear* God, men of *truth*, hating *covetousness*, and place such over them, *to be rulers*, &c. verse 23, If thou shalt do this thing, and *God command* thee so, &c. As Moses did so, it seems he thought he *did* command it; i. e. he commanded the appointment of good rulers, and he never has commanded the contrary. After Moses, Joshua wrought righteousness, and through faith subdued kingdoms. Here God had the righteous in authority, and the people rejoiced. Acts 13: 20, Stephen says, After that, *he gave* them judges about four hundred and fifty years, until Samuel the prophet. Afterward, when the people preferred a monarchy, God and the prophets or ministers nominated the rulers, and then the people accepted or voted for them; but in this country, the devil and his children nominate men af-

ter their own heart, and raise the cry,—we must vote for our man, even if the devil is candidate; and even ministers and church members, who pray for good rulers, vote for wicked ones, and think they do God service by choosing the least of two devils for God's minister and our ruler.

The powers that be are ordained of God; i. e. God ordained *civil government*, and it was manifest, first in the garden of Eden, in the voice of God to Eve, and *he shall rule over thee*,—Gen. 3: 16;* and then to Cain, saying, and *thou shalt rule over him*,—Gen. 4: 7, (i. e. if thou doest well;) and then to Noah,—whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed,—Gen. 9: 6; and next, Abraham *commanded* his house after him,—Gen. 18: 19; and then followed all the varied forms of government, either of which is better than none. God says, judges and officers *shalt thou make*,—Deut. 16: 18. *Not*, thou shalt *not* make them.—God chose David who should fulfil all his will, concerning government. It was said to Solomon, The Lord thy God—set thee on his throne, to be King for the Lord—to do *judgment* and *justice*.—2 Chron. 9: 10. I will restore thy *judges* as at the *first*.—Is. 1: 26. The law is *good* if a man use it *lawfully*.—1 Tim. 1: 8.—The law is — made for — the lawless.—9. God took of the spirit that he had given Moses, and put it upon the seventy elders, that they should bear the burden of *judging* the people with him.—Deut. 1: 9—18. By me[†] Kings reign, and Princes decree judgment.—Prov. 8: 12.

Rulers are a terror to evil works.—Rom. 13: 3, and to the praise of them that do well. Thou shalt in *any* wise set *him* to be King over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall *choose*. And we are to pay them because they are God's ministers, attending continually on this very thing.—Rom. 13: 6. Take you *wise* men, and I will *make* them *rulers* over you.—Deut. 1: 13. RULERS MUST DO JUSTLY. The God of Israel said, the Rock of Israel spake to me; *He that ruleth* over men must be *just*.—2 Sam. 23: 3. The *rulers* are to judge *righteously* between every man and his brother, and the stranger; and not *respect persons*; and hear the *small* as well as the *great*, for the *judgment* is God's.—Deut. 1: 16, 17. The judges shall *justify* the *righteous*, and *condemn* the *wicked*.—Deut. 17: 15. They must not judge *unjustly*,—Ps. 82: 2—but defend the *poor*, 3, and *deliver* them from the hand of the *wicked*, 4, and do *justice* to the *afflicted*. God says, execute ye *judgment*, and *deliver* the *spoiled* out of the hand of the *oppressor*.—Jer. 22: 3. Did not thy father eat and drink, and do *judgment* and *justice*, and then it was *well* with him—15. Was not this to *know me*, saith the Lord—16. Remove *violence* and *spoil*, execute *judgment* and *justice*.—Ezek. 45: 9. The Prince shall not take

* Here is family government.

† I. e. the wisdom of God.

of the people's *inheritance* by *oppression*.—46: 18. The people are to *obey* their rulers as far as they can and not *disobey* God. According to the sentence of the *law* — thou shalt *do* — Deut. 17: 9—11. To saints and sinners it is said, render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's.—Matt. 22: 21. Civil government is either a good thing, in itself, or a bad one. If it is a good *work*, christians must be *ready* to this and *every other* good work. If it is *evil*, then saints and sinners ought to *avoid* it. Whosoever resisteth the *power*, resisteth the ordinance of God,* and they that resist and despise government or dominion, shall receive to themselves damnation,—Rom. 13: 2.—(except they repent.) We are exhorted to *pray* and *give thanks* for rulers,—1 Tim. 2: 2.—and to lift up *holy hands*, &c.—8. Of course we must *vote* right, for if we regard iniquity in our hearts, or hold it in our hands, the Lord will not hear us. Put them in mind to obey magistrates.—Tit. 3: 1. Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man,—1 Pet. 2: 13.—to the King as Supreme, or — Governors — sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of them that do well.—14. The penalties annexed are to be just. At the hand of every man's brother will I require the *life* of man.—Gen. 9: 5. He that smiteth a man so that he die, shall *surely* be put to death.—Ex. 21: 12. He that *stealeth* a man and *selleth* him, or if he be *found* in his *hand*, shall surely be put to *death*.—Ex. 21: 17. Ye shall take no *satisfaction* for the life of a *murderer*.—Num. 35: 31. The land cannot be cleansed of the *blood* that is *shed* therein, but by the *blood* of him that *shed* it.—33. A man that doeth *violence* to the *blood* of any *person*, shall *flee* to the pit; let no man *stay* him.—Prov. 28: 17. Paul said, If I — have committed any thing *worthy* of *death*, I refuse not to *die*.—Acts 25: 11. He is the minister of God, — and beareth not the *sword* in vain; — to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil.—Rom. 13: 4.

Wicked rulers are injurious. Jeroboam *sinned*, and made Israel to *sin*.—1 K. 14: 16. Manasseh made — the inhabitants of Jerusalem — to do *worse* than the *heathen*.—2 Ch. 33: 9.† The wicked walk on every side, when the *wilest* men are exalted.—Ps. 12: 8. Shall the *throne* of *iniquity* have fellowship with thee; which frameth *mischief* by a *law*?—94: 20. As a *roaring lion* and a *ranging bear*, so is a *wicked ruler* over the poor people.—Prov. 28: 15. The Prince that wanteth understanding, is also a *great oppressor*, but he that *hateth covetousness*, shall prolong his days.—16. When the *righteous* are in *authority* the *people rejoice*, but when the *wicked beareth rule*, the *people mourn*.—29: 2. The King by *judgment establisheth* the land; but he that *receiv-*

* There is a wide difference between the *power* to rule, (*justly*) and the unjust exercise of it.

† And so do our pro-slavery rulers.

eth gifts overthroweth it.—4. Woe to them that decree unrighteous decrees.—Is. 10: 1. We ought to disobey *wicked commands* of rulers. But the midwives feared God, and did *not* as the King of Egypt *commanded* them.—Ex. 1: 17.—therefore God dealt *well* with them.—20. When Saul said, thou shalt *die*, Jonathan; the people *rescued* Jonathan, that he *died not*.—1 Sam. 14: 44, 45. Be it known unto thee. O King, that we will *not* serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up.—Dan. 3: 18. *That* Daniel — regardeth *not thee*, O King, nor the *decree* that thou hast signed, but maketh his petition three times a day.—Dan. 6: 13. Peter and John — said — whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto *you* more than unto *God*, judge ye.—Acts 4: 19. Then Peter and the other Apostles — said; We *ought* to obey *God* rather than *men*.—Acts 5: 29. So we see by the *Bible*, 1st, That *civil government* is *ordained* of God. 2d, That it is our duty as workers together with him, to *make judges* and *officers* of government. 3d, That they must be *just men*, *able men*, men of truth, hating *covetousness*, (and especially the covetousness of slavery) and *fearing* God, &c. 4th, That it is the duty of rulers to *judge* without respect of persons, to *study* the *law* of God, to execute judgment and *justice*, and *deliver* the *spoiled* out of the hand of the *oppressor*. 5th, That it is the duty of the people to *obey*, *support*, and *honor* such rulers.—6th, That *civil penalties* should be enforced on the principle of *justice*, even to the taking of human life. 7th, That opposition to the restraints of *just* government are attended with *dreadful* consequences. 8th, That *wicked* rulers are a *curse* to the people. 9th, That it is the *duty* of the people to *disobey wicked laws*.*—Alas! how are these plain precepts of the Bible set at nought and trampled under foot by this *sinful* nation, in nominating and voting for wicked rulers, and enacting wicked laws. Injustice, tyranny and oppression stand out in bold relief, showing, in letters of blood, that this nation is a hypocritical banditti; boasting that this is the land of the free, and home of the brave; while it is plainly seen by all the world, as the land of the tyrant, and home of the slave. In view of this all-important subject, *political action* becomes one of the greatest and gravest of *moral questions*. If the Legislature of your State should decree that every Bible and meeting-house should be burnt within two years, who would not call it both a *political* and *moral* question? and would not all the ministers preach against it, and all the church members, male and female, electioneer against it, even on the Sabbath day? If

* Some D. D.s teach us to obey such laws; but if the Catholics should get the power and decree that every Protestant Meeting-house and Bible should be burnt, would they say, obey the law? If not, why say, obey that more wicked and hellish Fugitive Slave Bill?

so, how much more, when, not merely the people of one State, but about half of the people in half of the States, by slavery have no meeting-houses or Bibles of their own to be burnt; and Christ, and thousands of his members are locked up in the prison of slavery by the key of Northern votes; some of which are votes of church members and even ministers; of whom God may say, they have set up kings but not by me. To whom he may say, as unto Pharaoh, 'Thus saith the Lord, let my people go, that they may serve me;' and at the judgment, I fear it will be said to many such, I was in the prison of slavery, and ye visited me not. Brethren, if you were slaves, would you not wish all the men who could vote, to vote for such rulers, and such only, as are in favor of your immediate or speedy relief? You know you would. Therefore God commands you to do as you would be done by. And ye women, if you were in slavery, would you not wish all the women in the land to use their utmost influence with all their husbands, fathers, brothers, sons and lovers, to persuade them to vote for such rulers, and such only, as would be in favor of your immediate or speedy release. If so, God requires you to go and do likewise. Slavery is the greatest injustice, oppression, cruelty and outrage that ever was inflicted on man, and one of the greatest sins against God; therefore the laws that uphold it are wicked and the rulers sin, in upholding the wicked laws, and the voters sin, in upholding the wicked rulers; and this sin is as great as all the miseries it produces to soul and body, in time and eternity. If slavery is a sin, it is God's will it should cease without delay; and therefore it is his will that the laws should be changed; and therefore that we should have rulers that will do it: and therefore it is his will that all the people who *can* vote, *should* vote for *such* rulers, and *such only*, as are in favor of it. What then, would the Lord say of me, if I should say I *will not* do the will of God, in this particular, just *now*, for fear the majority will not do it, at this election. What I do, I must do quickly. This may be my last opportunity; and how shall I meet it in the day of accounts! If the *first* man *waits* till the *last* man begins *first*, who would ever begin? The tempter says, great questions are pending just now; vote this *once* for party, and leave the slave till after election. *Once more*, and then, as the father said to his boy who wished to go home, "Let us hoe through the cornfield once more, and *then*." But when he got through, the father repeated, "*once more*, and *then*." "Then *what*?" said the boy.—"Then *another*," said the father. So the politicians say, and vote once more a good many times. The office holders and office seekers are under great concern of mind just before election, and say, there are *other great* principles, besides liberty and equal rights. What are they? John Randolph said, they are five

loaves, and two small fishes. They try to make the common people believe there is a great difference between a whig and democratic party. But it is well known that both parties have voted on both sides of what they called great questions. Being both parties of progress, they have progressed, like a horse in a cider-mill, round and round, in each other's tracks. Their principles are of no more consequence than the letters of the names, w-h-i-g, whig; d-e-m-o-c-r-a-t, democrat; for no one can tell whether he is better off on account of the policy of the one or the other. Let what party may be *nominally* in power, the slave power is behind the throne, and makes the political puppets dance to any tune they please to play or sing. They set up a bank and put it down, and put up another, and put it down; put up a tariff, and put it down, and put up another and put it down. The curse of God is upon those who eat their bread by the sweat of other people's faces; while his blessing is upon those who eat their bread by the sweat of their own faces. Free labor is elastic, and conforms to the existing policy, and we go ahead; but they cannot prosper under any policy, and hence they change the policy, hoping to make better times.

"So when a raging fever burns,
They change from side to side by turns;
Still hoping some relief to gain,
They change the place, but keep the pain."

And they always will, as long as they keep slavery. Where, then, are your other great interests? Are they free labor interests? If these clash with slave labor interests, they must be sacrificed. The slave power is like the woman who said, "If my husband don't do as I say, he'll hear a plaguey noise about his ears." If the parties do not do as the slaveholders say, they will not only hear a noise, but lose the Southern vote. You never can secure free labor interests *while* slavery lasts, and the national party organizations of whig and democrat continue. The slave power will not let you. But just let the North give up their party spirit, and party organizations, and unite for the overthrow of slavery; then the work will soon be completed, and they will have free labor there as well as we here, and wish the same policy *there* as we do *here*. It would double and treble the labor of the South, and give a spring to business every where: raise the price of land in the South fourfold; and the home market for all we manufacture here, would be greatly increased; and our *free trade* with the South be a better protection than any tariff that either party will ever give us, while slavery holds the helm on State. Then blessings, temporal and spiritual, unnumbered and

immeasurable, would follow to the nation and the world. This nation would become a beacon light to all the world, and the thrones of tyrants that half tottered to their fall in the days of the Revolution, would tumble into ruin. But if we for filthy lucre, for party honors, or any other selfish motives, continue to vote for slavery, by voting for slaveholders and their abettors, this gigantic sin will soon draw down the severest judgments of a sin avenging God. When we vote with, and for, the supporters of slavery, we vote to rob men of themselves, of their wives, of their children, of the light of science and of revelation. We vote to rob them of their liberty of conscience, and to rob God of his right to their free service, and of his right to speak from his word to millions of souls he calls his own,—bought with a Savior's blood. We vote to rob them of all redress in courts of law—of all protection to their persons, and virtually all real protection to their lives. We vote for the adultery of the Southern churches, and licentiousness of those out of the church; and for the numberless cruelties inflicted by prisons, stocks, gags, thumb-screws, marking knives, branding irons, bloody whips, iron yokes, galling chains, wooden paddles, red hot iron nail-roads, and other implements of torture. We vote to continue the American manufacture of native born heathen at home to the amount of more than thirty-seven times faster than all Christendom is converting them abroad; and trample under foot the Son of God, by doing it to the least of these his brethren.

Nor is it much less criminal not to vote at all. It is saying, by a masterly *inactivity*, that we care for none of these things.—At least, not enough to take up the cross and vote that the righteous shall be in authority, and Christ, and the least of his disciples, be let out of the prison of slavery. We ought to remember that it is not only those who are *active* in voting Christ into prison, but those that neglect to visit him and vote him out, who are to be condemned in the great day. For we are required, not only to cease to *do evil*, but learn to *do well*. Some ministers say, they have nothing to do with civil matters. But are ministers the only men to disobey that command of God, "Judges and officers shalt thou make." But it will hurt my influence. No,—it will extend your influence in favor of *all* duty, as well as *this*, if you do it for the glory of God. Actions speak louder than words. Ministers should be able to say to their hearers, "follow me," and not "go, boys." If they neglect their duty in this, how can they enforce other duties upon their hearers. Such teachers are looked upon as cowards by an intelligent community. They are *influenced* by their unprincipled hearers, but do not *influence* them. But is it not enough that I use *moral suasion*? Yes, if it does not flash in the pan, and miss fire when the enemy wields his

deadliest weapons at the ballot box. If it does, it is *immoral suasion*,—a dead faith. Give me the moral suasion that goes through the ballot box like a bullet through a gun; or like the stone through David's sling, that smites the Goliath of slavery down to the ground, and with his own sword of political action cuts off his head. It is good policy to do as the slaveholders wish us not to do. As a colored man said about voting: "What John C. Calhoun and other slaveholders go against, I go for it; and what they vote for, I vote against." A wise thought, and perfectly philosophical. They go dead against organized anti-slavery political action. But they are hail fellows, well met, with those who will stick to their party, *right* or *wrong*, and vote for Taylor, Polk, and Tyler too. Why? Because they are not afraid of antislavery *talk*, when it is mingled with pro-slavery *voting*. It is well to talk against slavery, if your actions do not prove you a hypocrite; and to pray against it, if you vote that your prayer shall be answered. The prayer from the end of the fingers is more effectual and availing, than mere *lip* service. If it is necessary to take two or more steps to save a drowning man, and you do not take but one, you are as guilty of his death as if you had taken none, if you could have saved him by taking one or two more. So it is with slavery. If you pray against slavery, and even preach against it, and it cannot be overthrown without right voting, and can with, and you neglect it, and slavery continues for want of your vote, their blood will be upon your head, as much as if you had not taken a single step. O! what a dread responsibility. But, says one, my conscience will not let me vote. Then pray God that he would sprinkle your heart from an *evil* conscience; for evil effects flow from evil principles. But if I vote, I shall support a pro-slavery government. You support it more by inaction, by letting pro-slavery men be elected, when you might have prevented it by right voting. Or, at least, you could have done your part towards it, and expressed a wish, by a vote, and in that way given a powerful antislavery lecture. But if I vote for a man who swears to support the constitution, I support slavery, because *that* supports it. Not if *he* understands it as antislavery, or at least, not pro-slavery. In that case you only give *him* power to act *against* slavery in a constitutional way, as *he* understands it. So by your vote you support *anti*-slavery; while by your interpretation of the instrument, you support slavery, whether you vote or not. But if you assert, that though it has many free principles, it *also* supports slavery, and thus contradicts itself; then a well known principle in common law requires, that if an instrument contradicts itself, that interpretation most favorable to natural right and justice is the true one. Now as the preamble and many other parts of it are a bold defence of

freedom, if it contains any thing in support of slavery, it is null and void, and as much a *nonentity* as though it was not written there; (and, thank God, it is not written there;) and swearing to support the constitution, would not be swearing to support such a clause, for it is no part of the constitution; and a nonentity or nullity is of no binding force. So it is no political sin for men, after God's own heart, to vote, and hold office, for the purpose of opposing slavery. If any ask, may I not vote for a slaveholder for President, to keep a worse man from coming in?—there is no danger of that; or if there is, would you vote for a practical monarchist for that object? If not, why vote for one that is a monarchist, and more too? The monarch does not own his subjects, but the slaveholder does. Abolitionists were blamed for not voting for Henry Clay at one time, to keep out Mr Polk; and for Gen. Cass at another, to keep out Mr Taylor; and they have been accused of electing the Presidents, though they did not vote for Polk nor Taylor, but voted against them. If so, their opponents more than elected them, by giving more votes against them. Or, if abolitionists, while a *minority*, can elect the Presidents, what will they do when they get to be a *majority*? If two or more candidates are tyrants, and christians do all they can to prevent their election, if either is elected, those who vote for them are *alone* responsible. It is not only sin, but folly, to choose such rulers, to overthrow or check the *extension* of slavery. It is like setting a fox to guard the geese; or a wolf the lamb; or sending the Devil a missionary to convert the heathen world to God. It has been argued, that this wicked voting is only *organic* sin, and not so great as other sins. But it is vastly greater.—I would much rather one would attempt to murder me than ten; and if they should kill me, would you say, that each man is only a tenth part guilty of murder, and should be only a tenth part hung, to punish him. Rather say he is ten times as guilty, because he employs ten times the power to do evil. So, when ten hundred thousand men combine by their votes to do that which is worse than murder, viz: to continue the enslavement of millions, and to rob God himself by voting wrong, *each* man is responsible for the *whole*, as really as though he had voted alone. The motive, the act, and the effect upon God and man, is the same in both cases. Nay, I would *rather* be enslaved by *one* man than by *ten hundred thousand*. But if you say, you did not vote thus on purpose to rob God, and continue the sum of all villainies, neither does the rum-seller sell rum on purpose to send bodies to an early grave, and souls to perdition. He does not do it to wring the aching heart of that worse than widowed wife and mother, who sits shivering over a few coals of fire, with her ragged, half-starved children, waiting with trembling anxiety the ap-

proaching footsteps of a drunken husband, as he reels home from his midnight revels; perhaps to seize an axe and dash out the brains, or cut off the heads of the whole family. No?—he does not do it for this. What does he do it for? To get money.—For the sake of money he hazards these dreadful consequences. And will you, fellow-citizens, risk the more terrible consequences of voting for slavery, by joining hands with the slaveholding whigs and democrats? and trample under foot the rights of God and man, for love of money, the root of all evil. When, in 1840, I told Esq. T——l, of R——d, that we had set up the liberty party, he replied, that 's right in principle, and I 'll go with you after election, and I don't know but I shall then, but I guess I must go with my old party *once more*, for I have a large quantity of wool on hand, and I think it will fetch two or three cents a pound more if they succeed, than if the other party triumphs. He had so many hundred pounds of wool over his eyes he could not see through it. It makes no difference what it is, wool or cotton, hats or shoes, umbrellas or buttons, or any thing else that we manufacture in the North, or only a pair of copper cents, one over each eye, if it is near by, it will hide a mountain of slavery a little distance off, though it be issuing the smoke of the bottomless pit, and rivers of fire and blood, rolling on their desolating torrents through the South, extorting the sigh, and the shriek, and the groan; the sweat, and tears, and blood of the slaves, finding a garden of Eden before, and leaving a desolate wilderness behind; yet the love of money, the root of all evil, is the god of this world, that blinds the eyes and stops the ears of selfish political partisans, so they neither see nor hear these notes of wailing and despair, that warn the nation of its approaching desolation and destruction, unless we loose the bands of wickedness and let the oppressed go free. Let us now listen to the word of inspiration, Ps. 50: 16, and onward: Unto the *wicked* God saith, what hast thou to do, to declare my statutes, (or preach the gospel,) or that thou shouldest take my covenant into thy mouth; (or join the church,) seeing thou hatest instruction, [about slavery, &c.] and casteth my words behind thee --[Words that reprove popular sins; man stealing, &c. When thou sawest a thief, [a man stealing his brother, as the patriarchs did Joseph, who says, I was *stolen* away,] then thou *consentedst* with him, [by talking or voting,] and hast been partaker with adulterers. [Slavery is a system of adultery.] Thou givest thy mouth to evil, [by defending slavery, &c.] and thy tongue frameth deceit. [Boasting of liberty and yet trampling it under foot.] Thou sittest and speakest against thy brother; [colored brother;] thou slanderest thine own mother's son. [America is his mother, as well as thine, and, it may be, he is literally thine own father's son.] These things hast thou done and

I kept silence ; [or did not speedily execute judgment against this evil work.] Thou thoughtest I was altogether such an one as thyself ; [because I did not punish thee,] but I will *reprove* thee, and set them in order before thine eyes. [This he is doing by abolition speeches and writings.] Now consider this, ye that forget God, [and his higher law] lest I tear you in pieces, and there be none left to deliver.

APPENDIX.

Mr Cass and Mr Clay, (one great man in each of the proslavery parties,) contended that there could be no *legal slavery* in our free territory without a *positive law*, enacting, authorizing or establishing it. This is a true principle, maintained by Judge Blackstone, the great expounder of law. And yet *illegal* slavery exists there, as the embryo of the giant sin that threatens to overspread the land. Mr Calhoun admitted that there was no such positive law in America any where, and never was. Therefore, there is not, and *never* was, any *legal* slavery in the United States. He said, slavery was begun by individuals, and then enactments were made to regulate it. But if it was *illegally* begun, how could it be *legally* continued? The constitution says, "*No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.*" Now when and where did slaveholders ever sue the colored persons, and get away their liberty by due process of law ;—by judge and jury? When? And echo answers, *when!* The English court formerly decided that slavery was legal, and slaves were property. But in 1772, Granville Sharpe showed them that the writ of Habeas Corpus, trial by jury and principles of the common law render it *illegal* throughout the British dominions ; and the court admitted it ; thus reversing all their former decisions on the subject. And the thirteen colonies were in those dominions at the time. And when they organized as States, they adopted those three principles, and thus by their own State authority made slavery illegal throughout each of the States.

* Mr Calhoun did not ask for positive law ; he only asked Congress not to prohibit slavery, and the dough faces consented.